164 Since then the Lake Barundi have not changed much as
165 regards their physical and mental constitution, but the individual tribes were struck by a terrible epidemic of sleeping sickness and were reduced to scarcely a third of their original numbers, so that in 1911 I found most of the formerly flourishing settlements deserted and laid waste. Fortunately the stinging
[136] fly, Glossina palpalis, which carries the infection, has not penetrated into cool, windy, upper Urundi, and it probably never will since it does not find favorable conditions there.

4. Mental Traits

000 At this point little will be said about the mental traits of the Barundi since they can be adequately inferred from the detailed descriptions of their life and of their material and intellectual culture which will follow. Therefore, I shall give only a few data about the disposition, temperament, and character of these three large population groups which differ so considerably from each other.

Of the Batwa, the more primitive, freer Forest Batwa
151 are also much freer mentally than those who have settled among the Bahutu and Batussi. Like all hunting tribes, they are characterized by their extraordinarily sharp senses, the superiority of which is very often experienced and still feared by the Bahutu as they advance against the forest in search of
563 arable land. As long as he can still hunt and live, freely roaming the forest, the Mutwa is very proud of his independence and looks with contempt upon the Muhutu wretched and bent low tilling his field, and also on the Village Mutwa living outside the forests who has to earn his living painfully either by working in the fields or as a potter or blacksmith. Toward
609 a European the Mutwa is in most cases, if not hostile, at any rate shy and ostensibly indolent, for even in peaceful intercourse he is afraid of the sorcery and formidable powers of the Whites.

563 [13] The Village Batwa are in all circumstances shy and
157 cringing as a result of their social position as pariahs, of which

157 northwest. In spite of their impulsive behavior, the Bahutu are incapable of any strong exertion of will. They are conservative out of inertia and indifference, and for this reason they cling to the old, habitual concepts and customs. A marked tendency toward everything mystical and supernatural works in the same direction, in spite of the rough sensuality of their physical nature. Much good-naturedness is apparent in their social behavior to their equals and in their warm love for children.

In his contacts with others, whenever no higher class Mutussi is present, the Muhutu is cheerful, loud, and talkative, but in the presence of a Mutussi superior he is serious and reticent. When the Muhutu is able to relax, his imagination is active and is expressed in naïve boasting and bragging. He likes to cheat his fellow countrymen and foreigners and is liable to use physical force if he considers the other person weaker.

● [609] The European is sure to be told lies by him at first and to have him soon turn impertinent if he does not know how to command his respect. If the European manages this, as the Mutussi always does, the boasting of the Muhutu soon turns into slavish docility and cowardice. This is also the case when he is confronted by serious danger, for example, in war, unless his fear of the Mutussi ruler [14] is even greater than his cowardice and forces him to commit acts which look like the result of great courage and self-imposed discipline. In reality the Bahutu of Urundi have become slaves in thought and desire, as a result of the four centuries of despotism by the Batussi, although theirs is not so slavish an attitude as that of the Banjaruanda [Ruanda] under their monarchic Hamitic rulers.

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For the keen observer this enormous influence of the relatively small Batussi minority upon the large mass of the Bahutu is at first impossible to understand, for he soon realizes that the Batussi are by no means the ideal men they seemed to us to be from the first descriptions by Count von Götzen, Dr. Kandt, and others.

181 Richard Kandt says of the Batussi:

"If I analyze my feelings and state them honestly, I must say that I was impressed by them. Even now I have not lost this feeling although my mind rebels against it and although I have told myself hundreds of times that these people are, after all, barbarians far inferior to me intellectually. But it is of no avail! I have explained to myself the source of this feeling, so unusual to experience toward a colored person . . . Apart from the gigantic stature, apart from the nobility of each movement and the dignity of their manner of speech, apart from the tasteful unobtrusive manner in which they dress, apart from their refined features and the calm penetrating, often even mocking and provocative eyes, apart from all this, there still is -- and here I hesitate and am unable to formulate the dim obscure feelings which hover in my imagination." (No. 22, p. 266.)

[564] This is a sentimental but a very understandable judgment. In actual fact the Batussi are a ruling caste, but not a ruling race in the ethical sense.

563 186 156 Gradually one discovers the secret of the tremendous superiority of the relatively few Batussi over the one and a half million Bahutu: they are greatly superior to them in intelligence, calmness, composure, cruelty, cunning, racial pride, solidarity, and political talent. What strikes one most about the individual Mutussi, apart from his imposing outward appearance which certainly must have made a great impression on the Muhutu from the beginning, is first his calm and what appears to be unconcerned reserve. In his contact with the restless, impulsive, thoughtless Muhutu, this has always been to his advantage.

[609] Further one is struck by the arrogance he displays even toward Europeans, by his abysmal mendacity and cowardice when faced with any disagreeable situation. The Mutussi regards himself and his kind as the crown of creation, as a paragon of cleverness and political skill. This is small wonder, for the inferiority of the relatively few tribes within his sphere of vision -- intentionally kept narrowly circumscribed -- and the fact that a Batussi minority rules the large Bahutu people were bound to increase his feeling

186 609 of importance beyond all measure. It is true that he fears the

186 European because the latter is in possession of many mysterious
609 powers and resources, for example, the breechloader and technical skills, but he nevertheless considers him basically stupid since he can deceive him, and he looks down upon him with more contempt the less he knows and understands him. As a traveler, one at first has to get used to being looked up and down with a contemptuous smile by most Batussi in conversations and negotiations far from the military posts, and from then on it is best to treat them with a certain amount of humorous derision, provided one is capable of it. The longer one has traveled in Negro areas and the better one has familiarized oneself with Negro character, the more one is impressed when first meeting the Batussi by their proud reserve. There is no restless curiosity [15], no noisy, half fearful, half good-natured greeting as with most Negroes, but, calm and composed, these tall fellows stand there, leaning on their spears, and let the European pass or approach as though the unusual phenomenon did not impress them in the least. It is not until one matches their self-assurance and meets them with some force to back one up that one notices from the restless play of their eyes and the veins in their necks that most of them have a nervous uneasiness, anxiety, and fear concealed behind their apparent indifference.

181 Never or only very seldom does the Mutussi say what he thinks; it has to be inferred. Indeed, lying is not only customary to strangers, but it is a deep-rooted vice practiced toward everyone. This is a moral defect which cannot be glossed over by considering it optimistically, as R. Kandt does, as a "kind of competition between two intellects which to them is not dishonorable," or as "the unconscious transference into real life of their graceful riddle games, unusual for a Negro people, with which even as children they are accustomed to enliven conviviality" (No. 22, p. 273). Such romanticism is misleading in ethnology and ethnopsychology; sober objectivity in the evaluation of our colonial peoples is necessary for practical reasons alone.

In addition to mendacity, laziness and cowardice are also unpleasant character traits of the Batussi. The Mutussi never

157 were the times of hard work for all able-bodied persons who could
461 wield a hoe. Once sowing time was over, why cultivate further? The busy times were intermittent, therefore, and even those people who were most inclined to work had nothing to do but sit for a good half of the year, unless a war should bring them to their feet. It is obvious that such a state of affairs does not lead to the development of industrious habits and sustained application to work.

157 Immorality. I fear that I won't be contradicted if I say that the Black is immoral.... How could one expect these "child-peoples," who live such a carefree and easy life, to acquire habits of abnegation and self-restraint? When the evangelization of these primitive tribes was begun, it was not easy to establish among them such habits of morality as befit a Christian people (1).

1. We have good reason to believe that the Banyarwanda may be classified among the least corrupt. The taboos and traditions that prevail among them act as a check against profligacy.

[609] Mistrust. Centuries of struggle to the death among the various African tribes have engendered... a certain attitude toward foreigners which makes it very difficult for a well-intentioned person to lead them as far as he might wish on the road to progress....

To conclude. If the previous lines do not contain an exact description of the African in general (for there are no generalizations applicable at once to one and all), /65/ I hope nevertheless not to have been guilty of injustice toward the Blacks in describing them. If only they could make the most of their assets and persevere in conquering their shortcomings, then no doubt a fine future would be open to them.

The same author adds that if one could persuade them to develop a civilization peculiar to their race, instead of slavishly giving way to their natural aptitude for copying that of others, this would be a good contribution to the glory of humanity and a denial

278 Igisura belongs to the Urticaceae family.
824 This plant grows to a height of about 1.50 meters. Sufferers from yaws drink its juice as a remedy. They must be careful not to take too heavy a dose, so as not to risk a serious intoxication.

It is rumored that ill-disposed people have used one or another of those plants, and in particular the mutambasha, or rat poison, to wreak their vengeance and do away with their enemies.

754 Small packets of herbs were found in the possession of people
609 suspected of practicing the poisoner's vocation.

For what purpose had those plants been gathered? Perhaps the sorcerer had tried to lend them a harmfulness which of themselves they did not possess. Backbiters in the land insist that once at least royal hands mixed those allegedly noxious substances into milk, honey, and butter intended for Europeans who were passi ng through. The said person achieved no results, however, and this led him /or her/ to say that it was impossible to get rid of the Whites, that poisons, spells, and bewitchment had no hold over them. We are inclined to believe that in this case charms and philters were involved rather than noxious substances.

754 It is said that the penultimate king of the Uswi, Gasusuro,
178 one of the regular suppliers of such products, replied to the court envoys one fine day when they came to fetch the goods that henceforth he would not supply them, that he was through with all poisons. It is also quite /489/ possible that his answer was dictated by the fear of being caught practicing this vocation. Let us add for the sake of truthfulness that the days are long since past when such things could be said or plotted against Europeans (1).

1. The Blacks live in the almost constant fear of bewitchment and poisoning.

[761] Rickets, tuberculosis, and sudden or strange deaths, especially when the corpse swells up immediately, could have no other cause in their opinion.

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Since it was impossible to escape, Chief Seruteganya set fire to himself (aritwika), the queen mother, and his two sons, Mulangire and Sebugigi.

Another tradition adds that Lwabugiri wanted to spare his mother, but that as she attempted to escape she was murdered by one of the sons of her second husband.

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[609] The king treats other dead members of his family with the same solicitude. He follows the same line of behavior toward people who are complete strangers to him but whose wrath he fears. Musinga has already caused propitiatory victims to be offered several times to Kabale, his maternal uncle, who died in 1912. In order to pacify his spirit more effectively, the sacrifices took place at Mbuye, in one of the favorite former dwellings of the powerful minister. Karara, one of the many blood brothers of the present king, who died at Ruchunchu, was granted the same honors when he showed signs of discontent.

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791 As a result of this belief that the dead may do harm to the living, a group of sorcerers arose to whom the king resorts when an important political prisoner is executed. Those sorcerers are called "exhumers" or "mutilators of cadavers" (ababūzi), a word derived from the verb kwabūra, "to exhume a cadaver," for no sooner is the condemned man dead than they cut off his little right finger (umuhèra) and his little right toe (akajanja). They also take strips of flesh from the body of the victim, who henceforth will be unable to do any harm. The aim of this posthumous mutilation is called urukagiro, meaning "obstacle," "hindrance" (from the verb gukagira, "to hinder").

Sorcerers in this category handle those human strips at some length and finally bury them in an anthill hole (umulerajuru). /534/

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[775] c. Special honors rendered to dead kings, or hierogamies. The Blacks are convinced that the spirits of the dead retain their hatreds and passions. To humor them, therefore, is to the best advantage of the living. The means used to this end are of course

231 Even the great chiefs flatter the king in the hope of enlarging
556 their herds. On every occasion they repeat the time-honored phrase: "You can never have enough cows," which in our capitalistic society is tantamount to saying: "You can never have enough money."

576 If a man enters the service of another man, he introduces
231 himself quite simply with the phrase, "naje kukusaba amata," "I come to get milk," or "umpe amata, unkize," "give me milk, heal me."

[126] In polite discourse it is customary to address a person as a bestower of cattle or gratefully to remind him of a previous gift of a cow.

[537] If a man of higher social rank stumbles as he walks, his attendants say: "humura, wampaye inka (calm yourself, you who have given me a cow)." This may not be literally true, but it emphasizes the man's higher rank.

●609 Among themselves the Batutsi speak of the Europeans as gituku, "the red ones." It is interesting to note that the Abyssinians call themselves "the red ones" in contrast to white Europeans and black Negroes whom they do not esteem very highly (1).

1. According to a verbal report by the Russian Embassy physician in Addis Ababa, Dr. A. Kochanowski.

In Ruanda the word bazungu refers to the colored retinue of Europeans, their servants and soldiers. Thus, when my donkey boy detoured around our camp which was on a hill and took a lower road, I was told: "muzungu aise epfo," meaning "muzungu passed by down below."

609 The Batutsi have absolutely no reason for welcoming
262 Europeans with warmth and enthusiasm. At the very least their
186 comfort is disturbed by the intruders. For this reason they sometimes make very unflattering remarks about them. The Europeans' chief offense is that they are not fastidious about their diet. In contrast to local custom, they eat everything; in fact, like the despised Batwa, they do not even scorn eggs and chickens, which the Mututsi finds disgusting. Thus, Europeans and their retinues are given the scornful epithets mpyesi, "hyenas," and bikoko or bisumba, "wild beasts."

609 If a Mututsi approaches a European, he covers his mouth and
201 nose with his hand. This gesture immediately sets the Batutsi
186 apart from their subjects; the Bahutu and the Batwa do not do this. It is difficult to explain the reason for this gesture. The chief motive is probably the fear of being poisoned. I repeatedly noticed that when I handled their pipes to examine the decorations, they did not go on smoking them. Another reason for this custom
[826] is vanity; the Batutsi seem to regard their protruding mouths as ugly. Thus, it was very difficult to photograph Musinga with his mouth uncovered. Another reason why they cover their mouths may be the odor of Europeans, which is unpleasant to them. Washed with soap and water, Europeans are said to smell like
[302] corpses to the Batutsi who are pomaded and perfumed with rancid butter.

609 During my stay in Nyanza and after the departure of our [127]
186 expedition, which reduced the number of Europeans to ten, Musinga grew quite weary of the strangers. This was brought out, among other things, by an amusing incident. He decided that the offensive European odor had even got into his house, so he had the box of toilet soap which had been presented to him thrown into the swamp. Previously he had kept it in his royal treasure chamber.

It is clear that Europeans, with their angular, nervous movements and their ungainly, short, broad frames, so much more similar in build to the despised Bahutu than to the aristocratic Batutsi, are objects of secret derision. For example, I overheard the remark that the Europeans wear shoes to cover up the hoofs which they have in common with their donkeys.

[624] A Munyaruanda [Ruanda] who associates with Europeans is given the name inyanga Ruanda, "apostate," "renegade." Literally the word means "Ruanda hater" and is derived from the word kuhanga, "to hate." The name is regarded as a very great insult.

[582] The Batutsi are very exclusive. In their scorn of others they go so far as to avoid taking women and children from the subjugated Bahutu and limit themselves to women of their own tribe who are very free and easily accessible for men of their race.

181 According to all the Europeans who had anything to do with
563 them, the Batutsi are cowardly. In contrast to them, the Bahutu, who form the bulk of the Ruanda conscriptees, are praised for their

as unclean and detest being in close contact with each other, chiefly because it disgusts them.

Besides the food taboos of individual clans, referred to [in the table] on pages 149 through 154 as abaziru, there are also general food taboos practiced by larger groups of clans, which even separate different elements of the population from one another. These more universal taboos are added to those of individual clans.

The Bahutu cannot eat with the Batwa because the latter do not respect any taboos and even eat chickens and eggs. The Mututsi, in turn, may not eat with the Bahutu because the latter eat the meat of goats and sheep. This taboo, it seems, is on the decline. The taboo on goat's meat is no longer strictly adhered to. The following explanation is given. The present ruler, Juhi Musinga, was ousted by his father, Lwabugiri, when he was a child and was reared by a Muhutu. In the house of this man he became accustomed to eating goat's meat, and so he has revoked the restriction. The situation is a little different with regard to mutton. The Bahutu of Mulera eat it, whereas the Bahutu of the south do so only secretly, if at all, perhaps because they have been affected by the more influential Batutsi and deny themselves mutton so as not to be regarded as unclean.

The most disgusting food for the Batutsi and Bahutu, as well as for all the other inhabitants of the interlacustrine region with the exception of the Batwa, is chicken and, above all, eggs. For this reason Europeans and their black personnel, who in this respect resemble Batwa, are despised. Our Banyaruanda porters refused not only to eat with the Wassukuma porters, but also to use the pots which were put at their disposal. Concerning this taboo, the Batutsi and Bahutu are similar to the Galla, Somal, Wakamba [Kamba], Wataita [Teita], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], and Wadjagga, that is to say, the Hamites and the Bantu who were metamorphosed by them. (1)

1. Hildebrandt, J.M., "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn [Ethnographic Notes on the Wakamba and their

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Neighbors]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1878, p. 378.

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[240] The less universal food taboos involving only a few clans can probably be regarded as traces of older, larger clan groups which later became differentiated and divided into subgroups that were not always aware of their connection. This process is still going on. The Mulera clans of Bangona, Besezera, Bagirima, Bayumbo, and Badahe are said to be subgroups of the Basinga clan. In view of this, we can expect that further research on food taboos will enable us to trace more closely the process of differentiation among the various clans.

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Children are not affected by food taboos, but this is by no means the case with women. They are also bound by special obligations in this respect. For example, the Bahutu women of Kissaka and Mulera may not eat goat's meat, although the men are permitted to do so.

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The food taboos which play such an important role in the life of Ruanda are, however, only one form of the general taboos, abaziru (singular, umuziru), imposed on individual clans.

The umuziru of the Basinga clan is a black cow striped with white. The members of this clan do not drink the milk from such cows, nor do they eat the meat. They are very much afraid of soiling themselves with cow dung because it might come from such a cow. They buy butter in the market, however, when they are not absolutely certain whether or not it comes from such cows. Since cows of this type have no economic value for them, they always try to sell them and to replace them with other kinds.

This example shows that it is not enough to refrain from eating the meat of an umuziru. They must avoid any kind of contact with it. They have a certain regard, however, for economic interests. The useless umuziru cow is sold, and they are more afraid of its excrement than of its butter, which they use when they are not altogether certain of its origin.

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The concept umuziru embraces all the phenomena that are taboo for a clan. They are not actually sacred, for the element of reverence is lacking. In the case of domestic animals, the natives try to sell the economically useless abaziru to outsiders.